

Message Text

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22

ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07

INR-07 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 HEW-04 /054 W
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P 260805Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7400

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 13916

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: ILO PORG ELAB ID

SUBJECT: VISIT OF DANIEL HOROWITZ US ILO REPRESENTATIVE

1. SUMMARY: DURING VISIT TO JAKARTA OCTOBER 21-24, US REPRESENTATIVE TO ILO DANIEL HOROWITZ, IN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ADAM MALIK AND MANPOWER MINISTER SUBROTO, REVIEWED TRENDS IN ILO THAT LED TO US LETTER OF INTENT TO WITHDRAW. HE STRESSED THAT US WILL INDEED WITHDRAW IF SATISFACTORY CHANGES ARE NOT MADE TO MODIFY THESE TRENDS AND OUTLINED CERTAIN US PROPOSALS, INCLUDING CHANGE IN ILO STANDING ORDERS TO SET STANDARDS ON RECEIVABILITY OF RESOLUTIONS. VISIT UNDERSCORED HIGH-LEVEL US CONCERN WITH ILO ISSUES. IT CLARIFIED OUR POSITIONS AND SUCCEEDED IN ELICITING EXPRESSIONS OF GOI SUPPORT FOR CHANGES TO ENABLE US TO CONTINUE ILO MEMBERSHIP AND PRESERVE ROLE OF ILO IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. IN ONE HOUR MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ADAM MALIK
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OCTOBER 22, HOROWITZ, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AND

LABOR ATTACHE, STRESSED US DESIRE TO CONTINUE ITS MEMBERSHIP IN ILO AND OUR HOPE TO MODIFY TRENDS THAT LED UP TO SECRETARY'S LETTER ANNOUNCING OUR INTENT TO WITHDRAW. HOROWITZ POINTED OUT THAT ILO IS DIFFERENT THAN OTHER SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF UN, CITING ITS TRIPARTITE STRUCTURE AND ITS PROCEDURES TO REVIEW COMPLIANCE BY MEMBER STATES OF ILO CONVENTIONS TO SEEK THEIR ENFORCEMENT. THE VARIOUS TRENDS IN ILO OUTLINED IN SECRETARY'S LETTER HAVE DISTORTED ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION AND WILL DESTROY THE VERY PURPOSES FOR WHICH IT WAS ESTABLISHED.

3. HOROWITZ POINTED OUT IMPLICATION OF EROSION OF TRIPARTITE STRUCTURE ON INDEPENDENCE OF EMPLOYER AND WORKER GROUPS IN ILO. HE CITED EXAMPLES OF DUAL STANDARDS IN ENFORCING CONVENTIONS AND FAILURES TO ADHERE TO PROCEDURES PROVIDED IN ILO CONSTITUTION BEFORE PASSING RESOLUTION CONDEMNING MEMBER COUNTRY. ON GROWING POLITICIZATION, HOROWITZ NOTED THAT WHILE MIDDLE EAST IS CURRENT MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE INTRODUCED INTO ILO, TOMORROW ANOTHER MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE IS CERTAIN TO ARISE.

4. IN ORDER TO AVOID INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS WHICH VIOLATE PROCEDURES OF ILO OR WHICH INTRODUCE SUBJECTS NOT WITHIN COMPETENCE OF ILO, HOROWITZ SAID THAT CONSIDERATION MIGHT BE GIVEN TO MODIFY ILO STANDING ORDERS TO ESTABLISH CERTAIN STANDARDS ON RECEIVABILITY OF RESOLUTIONS. THIS WOULD AVOID DIFFICULT OR EMBARRASSING SITUATION OF COUNTRIES HAVING TO TAKE POSITIONS ON ISSUES FOR POLITICAL REASONS BUT WHICH THEY MAY BELIEVE ARE NOT IN BEST INTEREST OF ILO.

5. IN CONCLUDING HIS REMARKS, HOROWITZ URGED THAT ILO ISSUE BE CONSIDERED AT HIGHEST LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT. HE CITED CONTRIBUTION OF ILO TO DEVELOPING WORLD, WARNED THAT WHILE US WANTS TO STAY IN ILO, WE WILL LEAVE IF CHANGES ARE NOT MADE; AND CALLED FOR FRAMEWORK OF CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES TO WORK TOWARD CHANGES DESIRED BY US.

5. MALIK, ACCOMPANIED BY SIDIK, DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR
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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, QUICKLY EXPRESSED HOPE THAT US WILL STAY IN ILO. HE FULLY AGREED THAT CONDEMNATION OF COUNTRIES WITHOUT ANY REVIEW OR INQUIRY INTO CHARGES WAS WRONG AND SERVED NO USEFUL PURPOSE TO ILO. HE FELT SOMEWHAT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT ILO SITUATION AS MANY COUNTRIES ARE UNHAPPY ABOUT PROSPECTS OF US LEAVING. HE OFFERED TO DISCUSS ISSUE WITH OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES AND AGREED THERE SHOULD BE FULL CONSULTATION WITH US IN ILO ISSUES. SIDIK

MADE POINT OF PUTTING BRIEFING PAPER BEFORE MALIK IN
MIDDLE OF MEETING. IF IT REPRESENTED DIFFERENT VIEW,
MALIK DID NOT ACKNOWLEDGE IT.

6. IN WIDE-RANGIN TWO HOUR SESSION OCTOBER 23 WITH
MINISTER OF MANPOWER, TRANSMIGRATION AND COOPERATIVES
SUBROTO AND SECRETARY GENERAL OF DEPARTMENT, GENERAL
BASRI, HOROWITZ REVIEWED SITUATION IN ILO WHICH LED TO
US LETTER OF INTENT TO WITHDRAW, DESCRIBED PURPOSES OF
SPECIAL CABINET COMMITTEE TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS IN WAKE
OF LETTER, AND STRESSED POINT THAT US WILL INDEED WITH-
DRAW IF SATISFACTORY CHANGES ARE NOT MADE TO MODIFY
TRENDS IN ILO CITED IN OUR LETTER. AFTER FURTHER ELA-
BORATION OF PROBLEMS CONCERNING APPLICATION OF CONVEN-
TIONS, HOROWITZ OUTLINED US SUGGESTION FOR CHANGE IN
STANDING ORDERS OF ILO TO SET CERTAIN STANDARDS FOR
RECEIVABILITY OF RESOLUTIONS. IN CONCLUDING HIS PRE-
SENTATION, HOROWITZ URGED THAT ILO PROBLEM BE CONSIDERED
AT HIGHEST LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND APPEALED FOR SUPPORT
OF GOI IN MODIFYING TRENDS IN ILO WHICH ARE DESTROYING
ITS WORK IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELDS AND FOR OUR PRO-
POSAL TO SET STANDARDS ON RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED IN ILO.

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7. SUBROTO QUESTIONED WHETHER THERE HAS IN FACT BEEN INCREASED POLITICIZATION AT ILO OVER PAST SEVERAL YEARS AND WHETHER ILO CAN REALLY BE ISOLATED FROM "REAL WORLD" IN WHICH LABOR PROBLEMS CANNOT BE DETACHED FROM POLITICS. HE REFERRED TO OTHER UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES FACING SIMILAR PROBLEM OF POLITICAL ISSUES INTRODUCED INTO THEIR CONFERENCES. IN CASE OF PLO, HE BELIEVED ISSUE WAS SOMEWHAT EXAGGERATED, AND IT DID NOT DESTROY ILO. HOROWITZ AGREED ON INTERRELATIONSHIP OF LABOR AND BROADER POLITICAL ISSUES, BUT STRESSED NEED TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN THOSE ISSUES WHICH RELATE TO WORK OF ILO AND THOSE WHICH PROPERLU BELONG IN UNGA.

8. HOROWITZ REVIEWED EXAMPLES OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED ACTIONS INTRODUCED IN ILO CONFERENCES OVER PAST YEARS AND HOW THEY HAVE DISRUPTED WORK OF ILO, UNDERMINED AUTHORITY OF GOVERNING BODY AND POSED THREAT TO GOALS OF THE ORGANIZATION. REAL WORLD, HE SAID, WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE MAJORITY, AND US HOPES THERE IS MAJORITY
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OF ILO MEMBERS WHO SHARE OUR VIEWS AND WANT TO PRESERVE ILO AS INSTITUTION TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

9. ON TRIPARTITISM, SUBROTO NOTED DIFFERENT SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHICH DOES NOT PERMIT THEM TO CONFORM WITH CONCEPTS SET BY NON-SOCIALIST WORLD AND QUESTIONED US POSITION IN THIS ISSUE. HOROWITZ REPLIED THAT WE RECOGNIZE FACT OF WIDE SPECTRUM OF COUNTRIES IN ILO, WITH DIFFERENCE GOVERNMENTS EXERCISING VARYING DEGREES OF CONTROL OVER WORKER AND EMPLOYER DELEGATIONS. THIS WAS NOT THE REAL ISSUE, HOWEVER, BUT RATHER INDEPENDENCE OF WORKER AND EMPLOYER GROUPS TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN REPRESENTATIVES ON VARIOUS ILO COMMITTEES. WE OPPOSE EFFORTS MADE IN GOVERNING AND CONFERENCE BY GOVERNMENTS TO APPOINT MEMBERS IN ADDITION TO THOSE ELECTED BY EMPLOYER AND WORKER GROUPS.

10. WHEN HOROWITZ ACKNOWLEDGED SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN ILO OVER PAST YEAR AS WELL AS SETBACKS, SUBROTO QUICKLY ASKED FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF "NET RESULTS." HOROWITZ REPLIED THAT HE BELIEVED DEVELOPMENTS ON BALANCE SUGGEST IT WORTHWHILE THAT WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS AND WORK WITH MAJORITY OF ILO MEMBERS WHO SHARE OUR VIEWS AND ARE WILLING TO ACT.

11. IN SUMMING UP VIEWS ON ILO, SUBROTO STATED THAT INDONESIA HAS ALWAYS OPPOSED CONDEMNATION OF COUNTRIES WITHOUT INVESTIGATION IT FAVORS EQUAL TREATMENT IN APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND IN INDEPENDENCE OF WORKER AND EMPLOYER GROUPS. HOROWITZ OBSERVED THAT SUBROTO FAILED TO MENTION POLITICIZATION. ANOTHER EXCHANGE ON THIS ISSUE TOOK PLACE, WITH FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF US POSITION LEADING TO SOME AGREEMENT ON TYPES OF POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH DO NOT BELONG IN ILO. SUBROTO SAID THAT PROPOSAL IN STANDARDS FOR RECEIVABILITY OF RESOLUTIONS WAS FAIR ENOUGH AND ACCEPTABLE. IN HIS CONCLUDING REMARKS, SUBROTO EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT OF US LEAVES ILO AND EXPRESSED DESIRE THAT COUNTRIES SHARING VIEWS ON ILO WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE IT VIABLE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.
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12. IN ADDITION TO MINISTERIAL CALLS, HOROWITZ MET WITH OFFICIALS OF EMPLOYER AND WORKER ORGANIZATIONS AND HAD OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT LUNCHEON HOSTED BY MINISTER SUBROTO.

13. COMMENT: HOROWITZ VISIT WAS CERTAINLY SUCCESSFUL EFFORT IN UNDERSCORING TO GOI SERIOUS HIGH-LEVEL CONCERN OF US WITH TRENDS IN ILO AND REALITY OF OUR INTENT TO WITHDRAW IN ABSENCE OF MODIFICATION OF THESE TRENDS. HIS ARTICULATE AND DETAILED PRESENTATIONS CLARIFIED OUR CONCERNS AND CREATED BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF TYPES OF ACTIONS WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE INDONESIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES SUPPORT OR OPPOSE TO ENABLE US TO CONTINUE ITS ILO MEMBERSHIP. VISIT ALSO PROVIDED EMBASSY WITH VALUABLE BACKGROUND FOR ANY FUTURE DEMARCHES REQUIRED. ALTHOUGH FM MALIK DID NOT APPEAR WELL BRIEFED ON ILO, HE CERTAINLY WAS SYMPATHETIC WITH VIEWS AND PROPOSALS OUTLINED BY HOROWITZ. EXTENSIVE QUESTIONING BY MANPOWER MINISTER SUBROTO, ON OTHER HAND, REFLECTED KEEN AWARENESS OF ISSUES. ASIDE FROM HIS RESERVATIONS ON ABILITY TO KEEP POLITICS OUT OF ILO, HE AFFIRMED FULL ACCORD WITH US POSITIONS. NEVERTHELESS, WHILE HOROWITZ VISIT GENERATED EXPRESSIONS OF GENERAL SUPPORT, WE CANNOT EXPECT INDONESIA TO MOVE TOO FAR AFIELD OF THIRD WORLD WHEN SUPPORT MUST BE EXPRESSED IN SHOW OF HANDS.

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